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The Increase of the English Army.

The *Herald of Peace* for March devotes much of its space to the increase of the English army, and the large increase in the cost of its maintenance. The estimates for the current year amount to *one hundred million dollars*, only twenty-five millions less than for the navy. The total for the two "arms," *two hundred and seventy-five millions* of dollars, is something appalling to contemplate. In reference to the army estimates, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, in his speech during the debate on the Queen's Speech, said :

"With reference to a paragraph in the Speech in which I am especially interested — on the Estimates — I have felt it my duty before to raise a note of warning as to the expenditure of the country. It has been said that there has been no addition to the army for thirty years, whereas, in fact, the army has been increased by 100,000 men, 30,000 with the colours, and 70,000 or 80,000 in the reserves. There has been an increase in the expenditure on the army of 50 per cent., and if we add to that the expenses of the men added to the Indian army, the addition to the expenses of the army has been enormous. We have added £13,000,000 in that time to the navy, and the addition to military and naval expenditure since 1870 has been £19,000,000 a year. This addition, in time of Peace, is greater than the charges on the National Debt for the accumulated wars of two centuries. I have always warned the House of the growth of expenditure; it is growing, not in arithmetical but in geometrical proportion. The growth of expenditure in this country has been in the last thirty years £27,000,000, and if you add the local subsidies, the total amount is £35,000,000. The resources of this country are vast, but they are not inexhaustible. I am glad to know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have a large surplus, and you have this remarkable fact, that in the third year of accumulated surpluses we are told we are going to have unprecedented Estimates, and for the first time in the history of the country, you have got these accumulated surpluses without any relief to the taxpayer. You will have demands for the army, for the navy, for Ireland, for the West Indies, and I don't know what besides, and before the Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to satisfy these demands I think he will regret those £2,000,000 which he threw away in the Agricultural Rates Bill — gold taken out of the Exchequer on the false pretence, known now to everybody to have been false, that the land of England was going out of cultivation. You have a splendid revenue if you administer it wisely and well, but if you abuse it by squandering your resources, by giving doles to favoured interests, by unnecessary frontier wars, and by Soudan expeditions, it is my firm belief that you will exhaust the springs upon which the life of your Empire depends."

Sir William's speech was greeted with frequent cheers by the members of the Opposition. The *Herald of Peace* thinks that Mr. Harcourt's speech, while possibly sincere, had too much politics in it to be of any real value; that if he and his party had been in power they would have done just as the supporters of the Ministry were doing, that is, have yielded to the clamor for more millions for military purposes. This criticism, which is true of other countries as well as of England, reveals the apparent hopelessness of any effort for the immediate checking of the alarming and insidious growth of military expenses. The cup

of iniquity is not yet full. Men in the national legislatures are so controlled either by politics or by fear (when they are in power) that they surrender their convictions and float helplessly with the tide. Like all other tyrannies, the tyranny of militarism binds men hand and foot, mind and heart.

The London *Daily Chronicle* gives the following analysis of the Army Estimates :

"The Army Estimates just issued are the most important that have been published since 1871. The memorandum accompanying them is fuller and more wordy than usual, yet it by no means explains all that the House of Commons ought to know before a shilling is voted towards the more than twenty millions which are demanded for the work of the coming year — more than twenty millions, we say, for though the present demand is for 'a net total of £19,220,500,' recurrence to the system of Supplementary Estimates to carry on the work of the year raises the sum to be spent considerably over the round twenty millions. As much as £766,000, to take the least, really over a million, is thus taken out of the ordinary to be voted as a special charge. And this is not all. There is a further future charge of no inconsiderable amount, reaching £314,000 in the last year of the century, £607,000 in the year ending 1901, £536,000 in the following year, and an 'ultimate normal' increase of £902,000 over the sums asked for this time. In other words, we are told that the country is to pay well over twenty millions sterling per annum for at most three Army Corps.

"When the present Government came into office they found the net Army Estimates for the year 1895-6 to be £17,983,800 for 155,403 men. For 1898-9 the charge is to be £19,220,500 for 180,513 men. Thus we have in three years an increase of over a million and a quarter for 25,000 men. And this naked statement is far from conveying all the facts. There was a Supplementary Estimate of £200,000 on May 4th last, and there is to be another for the half-year's Volunteer capitation grant, and there is to be yet one more, at the least, of £76,000, or thereabouts, to provide clothing, stores, and other supplies, which sum, on any reasonable principles of finance, belongs to 1898-9, and should have been voted at the same time as the men for whom the clothing, etc., is intended. By it the net increase on the Estimates for the year is made out to be only £880,000, whereas it is really, as is indeed confessed in the memorandum, at the least £1,646,000, and with its consequences considerably over £2,500,000."

The subject of "What Army Increase Means" is treated editorially by the *Herald of Peace* in a very clear-sighted way :

"The end of the long and skilful agitation has come. The Army Estimates have been issued. The Government has presented its monstrous proposals to increase the army by *twenty-five thousand* more men, and the country is to pay henceforth over *twenty millions sterling* (annually), with as much more as the Parliament can be induced from time to time to add. Once again let us remind ourselves whereto all this tends.

"An astute writer in the *Economist* some time ago said:— The armies are now so strong that the people cannot deal with them. The masses of Germany, or Austria, or Russia, or Italy, could no more defeat the armies of those countries than the army of Belgium could defeat the army of France. They are all drilled men, but they have no arms, no artillery, no store of cartridges,

and no superiority of numbers sufficient to enable them to dispense with those advantages. There are no remote provinces which can act for themselves. The soldiers are everywhere, and everywhere in irresistible force. The people see that clearly; they perceive that if it ever comes to a struggle the Kings must win, and the heart, therefore, is in great measure taken out of their devotion to Radical ideas. They think it, in fact, safer to let the Kings have their way, so long as their way is endurable, than by resisting too far, to provoke them to apply the final and irresistible argument of military force unhesitatingly exerted.

"We all see how this idea operates in Germany, where the Emperor is allowed to talk as if he were a heaven-descended autocrat, and it is just as influential in Austria, though in a different way. Everybody knows in the Dual Monarchy that there is a point at which the Emperor, patient as he is, would suspend any one of his many Constitutions, and govern a recalcitrant province through the Army, and he is, therefore, never pushed beyond that point. It is just the same in Russia, though the fact is there concealed by the willingness with which a people accustomed to autocracy accepts the Tsar's decrees as more likely to be wise than those of anybody else. If the German people attempted to control the army, or if the Austrian people resolved to 'federalize' the army, or if the Russian people tried to diminish the army, the Sovereign in either country would call upon his soldiers, and the people would be forced to shrink back visibly helpless.

"Indeed, the change goes even further than that. The people are not only more powerless to resist than of old, but they are less willing. They have all been in the ranks, have all imbibed a soldierly dislike of mutiny, and are all, therefore, as disinclined to oppose the Sovereign as soldiers are to disobey the commanding officer. They have a sense of doing wrong when they resist the 'War Lord,' or even hesitate to accept his command; a sense which when they do it, as in Germany the Socialists do, inspires them with an unnecessary, and, as it were, unnatural, brutality and violence. This new organization, under which the Army is an irresistible caste, and this new feeling, immeasurably strengthen the Kings, and induce them to maintain fearlessly their new attitude of final arbiters, without whose consent in the long run nothing can be accomplished. They may not have a complete initiative, but they have a completely efficacious veto. The German Emperor may not be able to say that a great navy shall be created, but he is able to say that the detested law of *lèse majesté* shall be retained, and shall be acted on with even increasing severity, and the people are as powerless as if they were children.

"On whatever point, in fact, a continental king is resolute to the point of fighting, his subjects must give way, or be shot down. The difficulty which stands in the way of all reform, and which makes even the mention of disarmament a thing to be treated with derision, is this, that the Sovereigns will not give up the control of their armies, and the victory of the 17th century cannot now be repeated, for the peoples cannot become strong enough to resist forces so immense; and as to the idea, so widely though so secretly entertained, that discipline may give way, that the armies, to speak plainly, may mutiny, it is unsupported by any tittle of evidence. The soldiers did not mutiny when they were much worse treated than at present. So far as appears, they hate the idea of such a course, as fatal to their own strength as well as their own

sense of professional honour. If there is one thing certain in military history, it is that ordinary men, once armed and drilled and brigaded, acquire a feeling that they are distinct from the population, develop what may be called a national life of their own, and cease to be governed by the views, or aspirations, or grievances of the unarmed people. They stand apart, responsible, as it were, to a different conscience. This has just been signally proved in France.

"The universality of conscription, has not affected this feeling in the least, nor has the shortness of modern service in barracks. The newest recruits obey as readily as the oldest veterans. There is no likelihood whatever of the populace debauching the soldiery, and just as little of any transfer of allegiance from the Kings to Parliaments. The soldiery, in fact, even in England, and still more on the Continent, dislike Parliaments, which seem to them, accustomed as they are to rapid and final decisions, to be mere talking bodies, utterly undisciplined and obeying their officers only where they happen to agree with them. The soldiers might mutiny to seat a Pretender, or to increase a military ascendancy, or to get rid of grievances in their own ranks — though these things do not now-a-days occur in well-disciplined armies — but they will not, we may rely on it, mutiny to increase the power of Parliaments, that is, in fact, to develop the authority of civilians over soldiers.

"That idea, then — the hope of practical reformers — must be abandoned. But it touches a line of fact which must be reckoned with, and behind which lurks a great danger. The conflict of modern times is really one between the masses and the classes, or more correctly between the military class and the civilian — the former being the instrument of the classes."

Is all this, in another generation, to be true of America into which militarism is making slow and insidious inroads?

The Terrible Condition of Affairs in Cuba.

We take from the speech of Senator Proctor, delivered in the United States Senate on March 17, such sections as reveal the awful state, as seen by him, to which Cuba has been reduced by the contest which has been going on now for three years. No one who can lay claim to the least remnant of manhood can read the accounts which have come to us, which the Senator confirms, of the desolation and suffering there existing, without wishing to the deepest depths of his soul that the whole accursed system of war might be banished at once and forever from the world. Much might be said in extenuation of the United States taking up the sword to stop these inhumanities, *provided* she could do it without extending the existing ones indefinitely and committing a long series of new ones, the necessary attendants of any war. But the great crime which our country, in its present state of civilization, would commit in going to war over the state of things in Cuba, would be the giving of its support to the keeping alive of the system of war, which will always produce in one way or another just such inhumanities as now exist in Cuba. It always has done so; it can never do otherwise; there is no civilized method of warfare. Senator Proctor says:

"There are six provinces in Cuba, each, with the ex-